

Expressions on Education
by Builders
of
American Democracy



Bulletin 1940, No. 10

*Federal Security Agency, Paul V. McNutt,
Administrator • U. S. Office of Education,
John W. Studebaker, Commissioner*

United States Government Printing Office
Washington : 1941

CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	vii
PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES:	
George Washington (1732-1799)	1
John Adams (1735-1826)	8
Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)	10
James Madison (1751-1836)	14
James Monroe (1758-1831)	16
John Quincy Adams (1767-1848)	17
Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)	19
Martin Van Buren (1782-1862)	20
William Henry Harrison (1773-1841)	21
John Tyler (1790-1862)	22
James Knox Polk (1795-1849)	23
Zachary Taylor (1784-1850)	24
Millard Fillmore (1800-1874)	25
Franklin Pierce (1804-1869)	26
James Buchanan (1791-1868)	27
Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)	28
Andrew Johnson (1808-1875)	30
Ulysses Simpson Grant (1822-1885)	32
Rutherford Birchard Hayes (1822-1893)	34
James Abram Garfield (1831-1881)	37
Chester Alan Arthur (1830-1886)	39
Grover Cleveland (1837-1908)	41
Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901)	42
William McKinley (1843-1901)	43
Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919)	44
William Howard Taft (1857-1930)	46
Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924)	48
Warren Gamaliel Harding (1865-1923)	50
Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933)	52
Herbert Clark Hoover (1874-)	53
Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-)	55

STATESMEN AND LAWYERS:

	Page
Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)	57
John Hancock (1737-1793)	58
James Wilson (1742-1798)	58
John Jay (1745-1829)	59
Albert Gallatin (1761-1849)	59
DeWitt Clinton (1769-1828)	59
Francis Scott Key (1779-1843)	60
Daniel Webster (1782-1852)	61
Thaddeus Stevens (1793-1868)	62
Edward Everett (1794-1865)	62
Silas Wright (1795-1847)	63
Mirabeau B. Lamar (1798-1859)	63
Charles Sumner (1811-1874)	64
Walter Hines Page (1855-1918)	64

EDUCATORS AND PHILANTHROPISTS:

William Penn (1644-1718)	67
Emma Hart Willard (1787-1870)	67
George Peabody (1795-1869)	68
Horace Mann (1796-1859)	69
Mary Lyon (1797-1849)	71
Catherine Esther Beecher (1800-1878)	71
Henry Barnard (1811-1900)	72
Charles William Eliot (1834-1926)	73
William Torrey Harris (1835-1909)	74
Booker T. Washington (1856-1915)	76
Edwin Anderson Alderman (1861-1931)	77

LEADERS IN OTHER FIELDS:

Francis Marion (1732-1795)	79
Benjamin Rush (1745-1813)	79
William Ellery Channing (1780-1842)	80
Francis Wayland (1796-1865)	81
Joseph Henry (1797-1878)	82
George Bancroft (1800-1891)	83
Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)	83
Robert Edward Lee (1807-1870)	84

LEADERS IN OTHER FIELDS--Continued.

	Page
James Russell Lowell (1819-1891)	85
Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919)	86
John Wanamaker (1838-1922)	86
John Lancaster Spalding (1840-1916)	87
Samuel Gompers (1850-1924)	88
Henry Van Dyke (1852-1933)	88

FOREWORD

IN 1913, the Office of Education published as Bulletin, 1913, No. 28, *Expressions on Education by American Statesmen and Publicists*, collected and compiled by Henry R. Evans. In the letter of transmittal, accompanying the bulletin, Philander P. Claxton, at that time U. S. Commissioner of Education, explained the need for such a publication in the following words:

From the beginning of our Government all our greatest statesmen have understood something of the importance of popular education and of the duty of society and the state to provide the means therefor. They have understood that in our civic, industrial, social, and religious democracy everything waits, and must wait, on education. They have realized that any real democracy is impossible without universal education and intelligence of a high order. Rulers must be intelligent or the people suffer. In a democracy the people are their own rulers. Many of our leaders have seen clearly that education is the highest function of society and the state. Notwithstanding all this, universal education has not yet been attained. The opportunities for education are far short of what they should be. In every State the campaign for better schools and wider opportunities still goes on, and must go on for years to come. Before better schools and wider opportunities can be had the majority of the people and their representatives in legislative bodies must be convinced and persuaded. In all matters of public policy we are accustomed to appeal to the opinion of those whom we have come to regard as our leaders and to respect for their wisdom. In debate we quote their sayings. Many who are engaged in educational campaigns have felt the need for a collection of at least a few of the more important utterances of some of our most prominent statesmen and publicists in regard to education and its importance.

The 1913 bulletin has been long out of print. Since such a publication is as desirable today as it was over a quarter of a century ago, it was considered advisable that it be revised and reprinted.

About half of the material in the former publication has been used in the revision. To this have been added quotations from other sources. In the new compilation, sentiments regarding education are included from all the Presidents of the United States. In addition to quotations from the Presidents the revision contains statements from Americans of the past, who have been outstanding leaders in various fields of professional and business life.

The arrangement of authors is chronological by date of birth, except in the case of the Presidents of the United States, where the order of term of office is followed. The illustrations in this bulletin are used through the courtesy of George P. Brown & Company, Beverly, Mass.

The additional material for this revision has been collected and arranged by Edith A. Wright, of the Library Division, U. S. Office of Education.

BESS GOODYKOONTZ,
Assistant U. S. Commissioner of Education.

Expressions on Education by Builders of American Democracy

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

George Washington

(1732-1799: First President of the United States; Commander in Chief of the Continental Forces, 1775-1783)



Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways: By convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments with an inviolable respect to law.—
Speech to both Houses of Congress, Jan. 8, 1790. Writings, XII, pp. 9-10. Sparks ed. New York, 1848.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge: In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.—*Farewell Address, Sept. 17, 1796. Writings, XIII, p. 309. Ford ed. New York and London, 1892.*

In a country like this, where equal liberty is enjoyed, where every man may reap his own harvest, which by proper attention will afford him much more than is necessary for his own consumption, and where there is so ample a field for every mercantile and mechanical exertion, if there can not be money found to answer the common purposes of education, not to mention the necessary commercial circulation, it is evident that there is something amiss in the ruling political power, which requires a steady, regulating, and energetic hand to correct and control it.—*Letter to John Armstrong. Mount Vernon, April 25, 1788. Writings, XI, p. 253. New York and London, 1891.*

The first and great object with you at present is to acquire, by industry and application, such knowledge as your situation enables you to obtain as will be useful to you in life. In doing this two other important objects will be gained besides the acquisition of knowledge—namely, a habit of industry and a disrelish of that profusion of money and dissipation of time which are ever dependent upon idleness.—*Letter to George Steptoe Washington. Mount Vernon, Mar. 23, 1789. Writings, XI, p. 370.*

Advocates a National University

I have regretted that another subject (which in my estimation is of interesting concern to the well-being of this country) was not touched upon also; I mean education generally, as one of the surest means of enlightening and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens, but particularly the establishment of a university where the youth from all parts of the United States might receive the polish of erudition in the arts, sciences, and belles-lettres,

and where those who were disposed to run a political course might not only be instructed in the theory and principles, but (this seminary being at the seat of the General Government) where the legislatures would be in session half the year, and the interests and politics of the nation, of course, would be discussed, they would lay the surest foundation for the practical part also.

But that which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion, is that the juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed and habits established that will stick by one; the youth or young men from different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part. Of course, sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the country would result from it. What but the mixing of people from different parts of the United States during the war rubbed off these impressions? A century, in the ordinary intercourse, would not have accomplished what the seven years' association in arms did; but that ceasing, prejudices are beginning to revive again, and never will be eradicated so effectually by any other means as the intimate intercourse of characters in early life who, in all probability, will be at the head of the counsels of this country in a more advanced stage of it:

To show that this is no new idea of mine, I may appeal to my early communications to Congress; and to prove how seriously I have reflected on it since and how well disposed I have been, and still am, to contribute my aid toward carrying the measure into effect, I inclose you the extract of a letter from me to the governor of Virginia on this subject and a copy of the resolves of the legislature of that State in consequence thereof:

"I have not the smallest doubt that this donation (when the navigation is in complete operation, which it certainly will be in less than two years) will amount to £1,200 to £1,500 sterling

a year, and become a rapidly increasing fund. The proprietors of the Federal city have talked of doing something handsome toward it likewise; and if Congress would appropriate some of the western lands to the same uses, funds sufficient and of the most permanent and increasing sort might be so established as to invite the ablest professors in Europe to conduct it.

"Let me pray you, therefore, to introduce a section in the address expressive of these sentiments and recommendatory of the measure, without any mention however of my proposed personal contribution to the plan."—*Letter to Alexander Hamilton [private]. Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1796. Writings, XIII, pp. 266-69. Ford ed. 2. New York and London, 1892.*

It is with indescribable regret that I have seen the youth of the United States migrating to foreign countries in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. Although it would be injustice to many to pronounce the certainty of their imbibing maxims not congenial with republicanism, it must nevertheless be admitted that a serious danger is encountered by sending abroad among other political systems those who have not well learned the value of their own. The time is, therefore, come when a plan of universal education ought to be adopted in the United States. Not only do the exigencies of public and private life demand it, but, if it should ever be apprehended that prejudice would be entertained in one part of the Union against another, an efficacious remedy will be to assemble the youth of every part under such circumstances as will, by the freedom of intercourse and collusion of sentiment, give to their minds the direction of truth, philanthropy, and mutual conciliation.

It has been represented that a university corresponding with these ideas is contemplated to be built in the Federal city, and that it will receive considerable endowments. This position is so eligible from its centrality, so convenient to Virginia, by whose

legislature the shares were granted and in which part of the Federal District stands, and combines so many other conveniences that I have determined to vest the Potomac shares in that university.

Presuming it to be more agreeable to the General Assembly of Virginia that the shares in the James River Co. should be reserved for a similar object in some part of that State, I intend to allot them for a seminary to be erected at such place as they shall deem most proper. I am disposed to believe that a seminary of learning upon an enlarged plan but yet not coming up to the full idea of an university is an institution to be preferred for the position which is to be chosen. The students who wish to pursue the whole range of science may pass with advantage from the seminary to the university, and the former by a due relation may be rendered cooperative with the latter.

I can not, however, dissemble my opinion that if all the shares were conferred on an university it would become far more important than when they are divided; and I have been constrained from concentrating them in the same place merely by my anxiety to reconcile a particular attention to Virginia with a great good in which she will abundantly share in common with the rest of the United States.

I must beg the favor of your Excellency to lay this letter before that honorable body at their next session, in order that I may appropriate the James River shares to the place which they may prefer. . . . They will at the same time again accept my acknowledgements for the opportunity with which they have favored me of attempting to supply so important a desideratum in the United States as a university adequate to our necessity, and a preparatory seminary. With great consideration and respect, I am, sir, etc.—*To Roger Brooke, Governor of Virginia. Philadelphia, 16th Mar., 1795. Writings, XIII, pp. 52-54.*

I had little hesitation in giving the Federal city a preference of

all other places for the institution [National University] for the following reasons: First, on account of its being the permanent seat of the Government of this Union, and where the laws and policy of it must be better understood than in any local part thereof; second, because of its centrality; third, because one-half (or near it) of the District of Columbia is within the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the whole of the State not inconvenient thereto; fourth, because, as a *part* of the endowment, it would be useful, but *alone* would be inadequate to the end; fifth, because many advantages, I conceive, would result from the jurisdiction which the General Government will have over it, which no other spot would possess. And lastly, as this seminary is contemplated for the completion of education and study of the sciences (not for boys in their rudiments), it will afford the students an opportunity of attending the debates in Congress, and thereby becoming more liberally and better acquainted with the principles of law and government.—*Letter to Thomas Jefferson. Philadelphia, Mar. 15, 1795. Writings, XIII, p. 49.*

A plan for the establishment of an university in the Federal city has frequently been the subject of conversation; but, in what manner it is proposed to commence this important institution, on how extensive a scale, the means by which it is to be effected, how it is to be supported, or what progress is made in it, are matters altogether unknown to me. It has always been a source of serious reflection and sincere regret with me that the youth of the United States should be sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education. Although there are doubtless many, under these circumstances, who escape the danger of contracting principles unfavorable to Republican government, yet we ought to deprecate the hazard attending ardent and susceptible minds from being too strongly and too early prepossessed in favor of other political systems before they are capable of appreciating their own.

For this reason I have greatly wished to see a plan adopted by which the arts, sciences, and belles-lettres could be taught in their *fullest* extent, thereby embracing *all* the advantages of European tuition, with the means of acquiring the liberal knowledge which is necessary to qualify our citizens for the exigencies of public as well as private life; and (which with me is a consideration of great magnitude) by assembling the youth from the different parts of this rising Republic, contributing from their intercourse and interchange of information to the removal of prejudices, which might perhaps sometimes arise from local circumstances.

The Federal city, from its centrality and the advantages which in other respects it must have over any other place in the United States, ought to be preferred as a proper site for such an university. And if a plan can be adopted upon a scale as *extensive* as I have described, and the execution of it should commence under favorable auspices in a reasonable time, with a fair prospect of success, I will grant in perpetuity 50 shares in the navigation of Potomac River toward the endowment of it. . . . —*To the Commissioners of the Federal District. Phila., Jan. 28, 1795. Writings, XIII, pp. 36-38.*

That a National University in *this* country is a thing to be desired has always been my decided opinion, and the appropriation of ground and funds for it in the Federal city have long been contemplated and talked of, but how far matured, or how far the transplanting of an *entire* seminary of *foreigners*, who may not understand our language, can be assimilated therein is more than I am prepared to give an opinion upon—or, indeed, how far funds in either case are attainable.—*To John Adams, Nov. 15, 1794. Writings, XII, p. 490. Ford ed. New York and London, 1891. (On the proposition of transplanting the members, entire, of the University of Geneva to America.)*

John Adams

(1735–1826. Statesman; Second President of the United States)



The instruction of the people, in every kind of knowledge that can be of use to them in the practice of their moral duties, as men, citizens, and Christians, and of their political and civil duties, as members of society and freemen, ought to be the care of the public, and of all who have any share in the conduct of its affairs, in a manner that never yet has been practiced in any age or nation. The education here intended is not merely that of the children of the rich and noble, but of every rank and class of people, down to the lowest and the poorest. It is not too much to say, that schools for the education of all should be placed at convenient distances, and maintained at the public expense. The revenues of the State would be applied infinitely better, more charitably, wisely, usefully, and therefore politically, in this way, than even in maintaining the poor. This would be the best way of preventing the existence of the poor.—*Works*, VI, p. 168. Charles Francis Adams ed. Boston, 1851.

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislators and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of

literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns, etc.—*Thoughts on Government. Works, IV, p. 259.*

Education is more indispensable, and must be more general, under a free government than any other. In a monarchy, the few who are likely to govern must have some education, but the common people must be kept in ignorance; in an aristocracy, the nobles should be educated, but here it is even more necessary that the common people should be ignorant; but in a free government knowledge must be general, and ought to be universal. *Works, VI, p. 198. Adams ed.*

Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower class of people, are so extremely wise and useful, that, to a humane and generous mind, no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant.—*Thoughts on Government. Works, IV, p. 199. Adams ed.*

The wisdom and generosity of the Legislature in making liberal appropriations in money for the benefit of schools, academies, and colleges, is an equal honor to them and their constituents, and a proof of their veneration for letters and science, and a portent of great and lasting good to North and South America, and to the world.—*Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1867-68, p. 320.*

[John Adams has the fame of being the first American statesman to incorporate in a State constitution a provision for public education.]

Thomas Jefferson

- (1743-1826. Third President of the United States. Drafted the Declaration of Independence, 1776)



If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be. The functions of every government have propensities to command at will the liberty and property of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information.—*Letter to Col. Yancey. Monticello, Jan. 6, 1816. Writings, p. 517. Washington ed.*

I have, indeed, two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength: (1) That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom; (2) to divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it.—*Letter to Gov. Tyler. Monticello, May 26, 1810. Ibid., V, pp. 523-24.*

I do most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education given to the higher degrees of genius, and to all degrees of it, so much as may enable them to read and understand what is going on in the world, and to keep their part of it going on right; for nothing can keep it right but their own vigilant and distrustful superintendence.—*Letter to Martin Pego. Monticello, Aug. 30, 1795. Ibid., VII, p. 24. Ford ed.*

Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on this good sense we may

rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.—*Letter to James Madison. Paris, Dec. 20, 1787. Ibid., IV, p. 480.*

A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so will it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest. Nor am I tenacious of the form in which it shall be introduced. Be that what it may, our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend, and amend it until it shall suit their circumstances. Give it to us, then, in any shape, and receive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young and the blessings of the old, who are past all other services but prayers for the prosperity of their country and blessings for those who promote it.—*Letter to Joseph C. Cabell. Monticello, Jan. 14, 1818. Ibid., X, pp. 101-102.*

I am now entirely absorbed in endeavors to effect the establishment of a general system of education in my native State, on the triple basis—(1) of elementary schools which shall give to the children of every citizen, gratis, competent instruction in reading, writing, common arithmetic, and general geography; (2) collegiate institutions for ancient and modern languages, for higher instruction in arithmetic, geography, and history, placing for these purposes a college within a day's ride of every inhabitant of the State, and adding a provision for the full education at the public expense of select subjects from among the children of the poor, who shall have exhibited at the elementary schools the most prominent indications of aptness of judgment and correct disposition; (3) a university in which all the branches of science deemed useful at this day shall be taught in their highest degree.—*Letter to George Ticknor. Poplar Forest, near Lynchburg, Nov. 25, 1817. Writings, X, pp. 95-96. Ford ed.*

In the constitution of Spain, as proposed by the late Cortes, there was a principle entirely new to me, and not noticed in yours, that no person, born after that day, should ever acquire the rights of citizenship until he could read and write. It is impossible sufficiently to estimate the wisdom of this provision. Of all those which have been thought of for securing fidelity in the administration of the Government, constant reliance to the principles of the constitution, and progressive amendments with the progressive advances of the human mind, or changes in human affairs, it is the most effectual. Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day. Although I do not, with some enthusiasts, believe that the human condition will ever advance to such a state of perfection as that there shall no longer be pain or vice in the world, yet I believe it susceptible of much improvement, and most of all, in matters of government and religion, and that the diffusion of knowledge among the people is to be the instrument by which it is to be effected. — *Letter to P. S. Dupont de Nemours. Poplar Forest, Apr. 24, 1816. Writings, X, p. 25. Ford ed.*

I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If anybody thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness, send them here. It is the best school in the universe to cure them of that folly. They will see here with their own eyes that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people. The omnipotence of their effect can not be better proved than in this country, particularly where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay, and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible, where such a

people I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are yet loaded with misery by kings, nobles, and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people.

To George Wytbe. Paris, Aug. 13, 1786. Writings, IV, pp. 268-69. Ford ed. New York and London, 1894.

When sobered by experience, I hope our successors will turn their attention to the advantages of education. I mean of education on the broad scale and not that of the petty *academies*, as they call themselves, which are starting up in every neighborhood, and where one or two men, possessing Latin and sometimes Greek, a knowledge of the globes, and the first six books of Euclid, imagine and communicate this as the sum of science. They commit their pupils to the theater of the world with just taste enough of learning to be alienated from industrious pursuits, and not enough to do service in the ranks of science. We have some exceptions, indeed. I presented one to you lately, and we have some others. But the terms I use are general truths. I hope the necessity will, at length, be seen of establishing institutions, here, as in Europe, where every branch of science, useful at this day, may be taught in its highest degree. Have you ever turned your thoughts to the plan of such an institution? I mean to a specification of the particular sciences of real use in human affairs, and how they might be so grouped as to require so many professors only as might bring them within the views of a just but enlightened economy. *Letter to John Adams. Monticello, July 5, 1814. Writings, VI, p. 356. Washington ed.*

James Madison

(1751-1836. Statesman; Fourth President of the United States)



A satisfactory plan for primary schools is certain a vital desideratum in our republics. —*Letter to Thomas W. Gilmer. Writings, IX, p. 408. Ed. by Gaillard Hunt. New York, 1910.*

A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or, perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance, and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives. —*Letter to W. T. Barry. Ibid., p. 104.*

While it is universally admitted that a well-instructed people alone can be permanently a free people, and while it is evident that the means of diffusing and improving useful knowledge from so small a proportion of the expenditures for national purposes, I can not presume it to be unreasonable to invite your attention to the advantages of superadding to the means of education provided by the several States a seminary of learning instituted by the National Legislature within the limits of their exclusive jurisdiction, the expense of which might be defrayed or reimbursed out of the vacant grounds which have accrued to the Nation within those limits.

Such an institution, though local in its legal character, would be universal in its beneficial effects. By enlightening the opinions, by expanding the patriotism, and by assimilating the

principles, the sentiments, and the manners of those who might resort to this temple of science, to be redistributed in due time through every part of the community, sources of jealousy and prejudice would be diminished, the features of national character would be multiplied, and greater extent given to social harmony. But above all, a well-constituted seminary, in the center of the Nation, is recommended by the consideration that the additional instruction emanating from it would contribute not less to strengthen the foundations than to adorn the structure of our free and happy system of government. *Second annual message to Congress.*

The present is a favorable season also for bringing again into view the establishment of a national seminary of learning within the District of Columbia, and with means drawn from the property therein, subject to the authority of the General Government. Such an institution claims the patronage of Congress as a monument of their solicitude for the advancement of knowledge, without which the blessings of liberty can not be fully enjoyed or long preserved; as a model instructive in the formation of other seminaries; as a nursery of enlightened preceptors, and as a central resort of youth and genius from every part of their country, diffusing on their return examples of those national feelings, those liberal sentiments, and those congenial manners which contribute cement to our Union and strength to the great political fabric of which that is the foundation. *Seventh annual message to Congress, Dec. 5, 1815.*

James Monroe

(1758-1831. Statesman; Fifth President of the United States)



It is an opinion which I have long entertained, and which every day's experience and observation tend to confirm, that however free our political institutions may be in the commencement, liberty can not long be preserved unless the society in every district, in all its members, possesses that portion of useful knowledge which is necessary to qualify them to discharge with credit and effect, those great duties of citizens on which free government rests. The responsibility of public servants, however well provided for by the Constitution, becomes vain and useless if the people in general are not competent judges, in the course of the administration, of all the questions which it involves. If it was wise, manly, and patriotic in us to establish a free Government, it is equally incumbent on us to attend to the necessary means of its preservation.—*To the Governor of Virginia. Writings, IV, p. 109. Ed. by S. M. Hamilton. New York and London, 1900.*

John Quincy Adams

(1767-1848. Statesman and Diplomat; Sixth President of the United States)



The original settlers of New England were the first people on the face of the globe who undertook to say that *all* children *should* be educated. On this our democracy has been founded. Our town schools, town meetings here have been our strong hold in this point; and our efforts now are to second those of our pious ancestors. Some kingdoms of Europe have been justly praised for their patronage of elementary instruction, but they were only following our early example. Our old system has made us an enlightened people, and I feared that the Normal School system was to subvert the old system, take the power from the towns and put it into the state, and overturn the old democratic principle of sustaining the schools by a tax on property; but, I am happy to find that this is not its aim or wish; but on the contrary, it is accordant to all the old maxims, and would elevate the town schools to the new wants of a growing community.—*Address by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, before the education meeting, at Hanover, Mass., published in the Common School Assistant, Vol. 3, November 1838, p. 85.*

But moral, political, intellectual improvement are duties, assigned by the Author of Our Existence, to social, no less than to individual man. For the fulfilment of those duties, governments are invested with power; and, to the attainment of the end, the progressive improvement of the condition of the governed, the exercise of delegated powers is a duty as sacred and indis-

pensable, as the usurpation of powers not granted is criminal and odious. Among the first, perhaps the very first instrument for the improvement of the condition of men, is knowledge; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential.—*First annual message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1825.*

Andrew Jackson

(1767–1845. Soldier and Statesman; Seventh President of the United States)



Some of the topics which shall engage my earliest attention as intimately connected with the prosperity of our beloved country, are . . . a just respect for State rights and the maintenance of State sovereignty as the best check of the tendencies to consolidation; and the distribution of the surplus revenue amongst the States according to the apportionment of representation, for the purposes of education and internal improvement, except where the subjects are entirely national.—*Rough draft of the first inaugural address, Mar. 4, 1829.*

. . . And to be plain I was determined that he (Daniel Donelson) should have a liberal education without the sale of his land—if I paid it out of my own means. I know the value of a real education, I set out that you all three should receive it, and nothing but the want of means shall prevent it, and I trust in a kind Providence that He will not deprive me of the means to carry into effect such a praiseworthy object.—*From a letter to Andrew J. Donelson, dated Mar. 5, 1823.*

Martin Van Buren

(1782-1862. Lawyer and Statesman; Eighth President of the United States)



The liberal endowments from time to time granted to our scientific and literary institutions, have added much to the character of the state, and reflected high honor on the enlightened counsels under whose auspices they were made. Although sometimes improvident, and occasionally unsuccessful, their general results have been highly auspicious to the great cause they were meant to subserve, and afford the strongest encouragement to a faithful perseverance in the same wise and liberal policy.

The more direct agency of the government in conducting the affairs of the common schools, as well as the more extensive range of usefulness that belongs to those very valuable elementary institutions, require a fuller statement of the different matters that appertain to that system, and concern its administration.—
New York State. Messages from the Governors, Ed. by C. Z. Lincoln, Albany, J. B. Lyon, 1909. Vol. III, p. 238.

William Henry Harrison

(1773-1841. Soldier and Statesman; Ninth President of the United States)



He (Harrison) would allow that there were also lands allotted for schools in the Western States. But that was a matter of national concernment. And if they looked to our neighbors, they would find that reserves for this purpose were far greater than in this country. In Canada, the appropriations of land for the purposes of education, were more than double those given to the Western States. These allotments were absolutely necessary in a new country, and it was the best policy of the Government to make them. The gentleman from New Hampshire had, a few days since, spoken in high terms of the seamen of New England. He had said that, during the late war, they poured out their blood like water in the cause of their country. And so did the men of the West, and so they were ready to do again; and it was a great interest of the Government to diffuse amongst its citizens the means of obtaining that general intelligence, which teaches men to appreciate the liberty and privileges they enjoy, and prompts them to endure danger and death in their defence.—
Debates in Congress . . . of the 2d sess., 19th Congress, Vol. III, col. 318, in remarks on the bill to appropriate six sections of land for the purpose of aiding the State of Indiana in opening a Canal, etc.)

John Tyler

(1790-1862. Statesman and Governor of Virginia; Tenth President of the United States)



Among these subjects possessed of the most manifest importance, in the accomplishment of this end (to perpetuate the blessings which we enjoy, so that generations, in endless succession, may possess the same high privileges with ourselves), is the organization of a system for the diffusion of general instruction among the great mass of the people Should not the condition of all the youth of the country excite the efforts of a parental government? Does not that condition call for the establishment of a system of instruction embracing all, and alike available to all? If it be said, that the rich require no legislative interposition to enable them to educate their children, yet there still remains a numerous portion of our population, who while they are far from being mendicants, would, nevertheless, be greatly benefitted by such interference.—Gov. Tyler, in *Annual message*, December 1826, *House of Delegates of Virginia*, Session, 1826-27, pp. 6-7.

James Knox Polk

(1795-1849. Lawyer and Statesman; Eleventh President of the United States)



Another subject, which ought to be one of thrilling interest to every patriotic man, is the extension of our system of popular Education, that its benefits may be more generally diffused than they have been, among the great mass of the community. No people who are not enlightened can long remain free.—The truth of this was early felt by the founders of our political system.—*Address to the People of Tennessee, Apr. 3, 1839. Columbia, Tenn., J. H. Thompson, printer, 1839. P. 25.*

Zachary Taylor

(1784–1850. Soldier; Twelfth President of the United States)



While no direct quotation has been found in the writings of Zachary Taylor, he was nevertheless not indifferent to education. John J. Crittenden, in speaking of him many years ago said: "General Taylor is a man of learning—not mere scholastic learning—he was never graduated at a college—but his mind is richly stored with that practical knowledge which is acquired both from men and books. He is a deeply read man."—*General Taylor's Moral, Intellectual, & Professional Character* (1848), p. 1.

Millard Fillmore

(1800-1874. Lawyer; Thirteenth President of the United States)



This department being thoroughly and rightly established, I hope next to see the academic department organized, and at the earliest possible moment; and why should we despair of this? The time has come when such an institution is indispensable to the wants and honor of our city. I appeal to every father who has a son to educate. Why should he be compelled to send that son to some eastern village or distant city to give him a liberal education? Can it be that this proud Queen City of the Lakes, into whose lap is poured the commercial wealth of eight states, cannot maintain a single college! Are our crowded wharves and glutted warehouses mere mockeries of wealth? No—our numerous and costly temples for religious worship not only attest our piety and devotion, but show what the enterprise and noble generosity of Buffalo can accomplish when its sympathies and energies are enlisted in a good cause.—*Address as chancellor of the University of Buffalo, in Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. XI, p. 49.*

Franklin Pierce

(1804-1869. Lawyer and Statesman; Fourteenth President of the United States)



I am far from desiring to see this country destitute of a Military Academy; but I would have it a school of practice and instruction, for officers actually in the service of the United States; not an institution for educating, gratuitously, young gentlemen, who, on the completion of their term, or after a few months' leave of absence, resign their commissions, and return to the pursuits of civil life.—*U. S. Congress, 24th, 1st sess. Debates, Vol. 12, pt. 4, col. 4574, June 30, 1836.*

The peculiar relation of the General Government to the District of Columbia renders it proper to commend to your care not only its material but also its moral interests, including education, more especially in those parts of the District outside of the cities of Washington and Georgetown.—*Messages and papers of the Presidents, Vol. 7, p. 2873.*

It has been said of Franklin Pierce that, "He has aided many a penniless youth of talent in the early struggle to gain education."—*Life of Gen. Frank. Pierce, by Hermitage. 1852. p. 25.*

James Buchanan

(1791-1868. Statesman; Fifteenth President of the United States)



My present purpose is to advocate that system of common education which, like the light of heaven, extends its advantages to all; and which will tend to make every citizen of this vast Republic wiser and better, more sensible of the blessings of civil and religious liberty which he enjoys, and more firm and determined in defending them against every attack. *Address on the Establishment of Common Schools, June 1828. Works, I, p. 371. Moore ed. Philadelphia and London, 1908.*

Education lies at the very root of all our institutions; it is the foundation upon which alone they can repose in safety. Shall the people be educated? is a question not of mere policy, but it is a question of life and death, upon which the existence of our present form of government depends. . . . It is scarcely necessary to observe, before this enlightened audience, that it would be at war with the vital principle of our Republic to confine education to any particular class. Where there is universal suffrage, there ought to be universal education. These are the main pillars upon which our temple of liberty rests. . . . The next question which demands our consideration is, Ought common schools to be established by law, for the education [of] the people? To answer this question will be but an easy task. The history of the world has established the truth of the position that there is no other effectual method of imparting education to all but by means of public schools. — *Works, I, pp. 373-74.*

Abraham Lincoln

(1809-1863). Lawyer and Statesman; Sixteenth President of the United States)



Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in. That every man may receive at least a moderate education, and thereby be enabled to read the histories of his own and other countries, by which he may duly appreciate the value of our free institutions, appears to be an object of vital importance, even on this account alone, to say nothing of the advantages and satisfaction to be derived from all being able to read the Scriptures and other works, both of a religious and moral nature, for themselves.

For my part, I desire to see the time when education—and by its means morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry—shall become much more general than at present, and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measures which might have a tendency to accelerate that happy period.—*Address to the People of Sangamon County, Mar. 9, 1832. Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, I, p. 7. Ed. by J. G. Nicolay and John Hay. New York [c1894].*

The old general rule was that educated people did not perform manual labor. They managed to eat their bread, leaving the toil of producing it to the uneducated. This was not an insupportable evil to the working bees, so long as the class of drones remained very small. But now, especially in these free States,

nearly all are educated—quite too nearly all to have the labor of the uneducated in any wise adequate to the support of the whole. It follows from this that henceforth educated people must labor. Otherwise education itself would become a positive and intolerable evil. No country can sustain in idleness more than a small percentage of its numbers. The great majority must labor at something productive. From these premises the problem springs, "How can labor and education be the most satisfactorily combined?"

By the "mud-sill" theory it is assumed that labor and education are incompatible, and any practical combination of them impossible.

But free labor says, "No." Free labor argues that as the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was probably intended that heads and hands should cooperate as friends, and that that particular head should direct and control that pair of hands. As each man has one mouth to be fed, and one pair of hands to furnish food, it was probably intended that that particular pair of hands should feed that particular mouth—that each head is the natural guardian, director and protector of the hands and mouth inseparably connected with it; and that being so, every head should be cultivated and improved by whatever will add to its capacity for performing its charge. In one word, free labor insists on universal education.—*Annual Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, Milwaukee, Wis., Sept. 30, 1859. In Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln (Speeches, Letters, and State Papers), I, p. 582. Ed. by J. G. Nicolay and John Hay.*

Andrew Johnson

(1808-1875. Governor of Tennessee; Seventeenth President of the United States)



It must be apparent to all, that our present system of common school education falls very far short of coming up to the imperative commands of the Constitution. If the law establishing our system of common schools had been perfect in all its details, the common school fund has been heretofore wholly inadequate to put it into practical and efficient operation throughout the State. At the present period, and for a long time past, our common schools have been doing little or no good, but, on the contrary, have, in many instances and in different parts of the country, been rather in the way than otherwise, preventing the people from getting up and having schools upon their own responsibility, and at their own expense. The time has surely arrived when the Legislature and the people should lay hold of this important subject with a strong and unfaltering hand. All very readily concur in the opinion that something ought to be done to promote the cause of education, and still there are no effective steps taken. . . . The great difficulty that seems to have been in the way, and the excuse for doing nothing more than we have done, is, that we have had no means. . . . If we are sincere in what we profess for the cause of education, we should, without hesitation, provide means to accomplish it. There is one way, if no other, that the children of the State can be educated, which is obvious to all, and that is, to levy and collect a tax from the

people of the whole State, or to authorize the county courts, separately, to do so in their respective counties, in such manner as may be deemed by them most acceptable to the people, sufficient in amount, when added to our present school fund, to give life and energy to our dying or dead system of common school education. . . .

Upon the increase and diffusion of education among the great mass of people, and the elevation of labor, depends, to a very great extent, the perpetuity of our free institutions.—*An address delivered Dec. 19, 1853, before the Senate and House of Representatives of Tennessee. Senate Journal (Tenn.) 1853 54, pp. 296 97.*

Ulysses Simpson Grant

(1822-1885. American General; Eighteenth President of the United States)



There is no interest in our country which I feel deserves more to be fostered than that of the public school. Intelligence is the security of the Republic, as ignorance is the upholding of monarchy. To insure ourselves against the disasters of war, particularly of civil war, we want education diffused, that the minds of our youth may be sufficiently taught to read and to distinguish between right and wrong; and with such education universally diffused the Republic can never be in danger. I only regret that the statistics show in our country as much illiteracy as they do. I was surprised at some figures that I heard repeated within a few days; but, when we consider the infancy of our public school system, it is, probably, not so much to be wondered at. My hope is that the day will come, and that not far distant, when the school facilities everywhere will be such that every child may have the opportunity of receiving a common school education at the expense of the State; and, if it should be necessary, that there should be in each State of this Union compulsory education.—
Journal of Education, Vol. 11, May 13, 1880, p. 307.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free

nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's line, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now in this centennial year of our existence I believe it a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundation of the house commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Concord and Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech, and free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiment, and of equal rights and privileges to all men irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools. . . . Resolve that either the State or nation, or both combined, shall support institutions of learning sufficient to afford every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good, common-school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical tenets . . . —*Address delivered at Des Moines, Iowa, Sept. 29, 1875, before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee. In Journal of Education, Vol. 21, June 4, 1885, p. 358.*

Rutherford Birchard Hayes

(1822-1893. Nineteenth President of the United States)



The ultimate settlement of all questions of the future, whether of administration or finance or of true nationality of sentiment, depends upon the virtue and intelligence of the people. It is vain to hope for the success of a free government without the means of insuring the intelligence of those who are the source of power.—*First annual message to Congress. Dec. 3, 1877. In Misc. Docs. of the House of Representatives for the 2d sess. of the 53d Cong., 1893-94. Washington, Gov't printing office, 1895, p. 479.*

Firmly convinced that the subject of popular education deserves the earnest attention of the people of the whole country, with a view to wise and comprehensive action by the Government of the United States, I respectfully recommend that Congress, by suitable legislation and with proper safeguards, supplement the local educational funds in the several States where the grave duties and responsibilities of citizenship have been devolved on uneducated people by devoting to the purpose grants of the public lands and, if necessary, by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States. Whatever Government can fairly do to promote free popular education ought to be done. Wherever general education is found, peace, virtue, and social order prevail and civil and religious liberty are secure.—*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1880.*

Jefferson, with his almost marvelous sagacity and foresight, declared, nearly a hundred years ago, that free schools were an essential part—one of the columns, as he expressed it—of the Republican edifice, and that "without instruction free to all, the sacred flame of liberty could not be kept burning in the hearts of Americans." Madison said, nearly 60 years ago, "A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps to both." Already, in too many instances, elections have become the farce which Madison predicted; and the tremendous tragedy which we saw when we were soldiers of the Union, and in which we bore a part, could never have occurred if, in all sections of our country, there had been universal suffrage based upon universal education. In our country, as everywhere else, it will be found that, in the long run, ignorant voters are powder and ball for the demagogues. The failure to support free schools in any part of our country tends to cheapen and degrade the right of suffrage, and will ultimately destroy its value in every part of the Republic. The unvarying testimony of history is, that the nations which win the most renowned victories in peace and war are those which provide ample means of popular education. Without free schools there is no such thing as affording to "every man an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." In the present condition of our country, universal education requires the aid of the General Government. The authority to grant such aid is established by a line of precedents beginning with the origin of the Republic and running down through almost every administration to the present time. Let this aid be granted wherever it is essential to the enjoyment of free popular instruction.—*Address at Canton, Ohio, in New England Journal of Education, Vol. 12, Sept. 16, 1880, p. 196.*

The wisdom of legislation upon the part of Congress in the aid of the States for the education of the whole people in those

branches of study which are taught in the common schools of the country is no longer a question. The intelligent judgment of the country goes still further, regarding it as also both constitutional and expedient for the General Government to extend to technical and higher education such aid as is deemed essential to the general welfare and to our due prominence among the enlightened and cultured nations of the world.

It is encouraging to observe, in connection with the growth of fraternal feeling in those States in which slavery formerly existed, evidences of increasing interest in universal education, and I shall be glad to give my approval to any appropriate means which may be enacted by Congress for the purpose of supplementing with national aid the local systems of education in those States and in all the States; and having already invited your attention to the needs of the District of Columbia with respect to its public-school system, I here add that I believe it desirable, not so much with reference to the local wants of the District, but to the great and lasting benefit of the entire country, that this system should be crowned with a university in all respects in keeping with the National Capital, and thereby realize the cherished hopes of Washington on the subject.—*Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1877. Cong. Record, 45th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. 7, Part 1, p. 7.*

To education more than to any other agency we are to look, as the resource for the advancement of the people in the requisite knowledge and appreciation of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, and I desire to repeat the suggestion contained in my former message in behalf of the enactment of an appropriate measure by Congress for the purpose of supplementing with national aid the local systems of education in the several States.—*Message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1878. Cong. Record, 45th Cong., 3d sess., Vol. 8, part 1, p. 7.*



James Abram Garfield

(1831-1881. Soldier and Statesman; Twentieth President of the United States)



The doctrine of "demand and supply" does not apply to educational wants. Even the most extreme advocates of the principle of *laissez faire* as a sound maxim of political philosophy admit that governments must interfere in aid of education. We must not wait for the *wants* of the rising generation to be expressed in a *demand* for means of education. We must ourselves discover and supply their *needs* before the time for supplying them has forever passed.—*Speech in the House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained. Its interests are intrusted to the States and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools.—*Letter of acceptance of the nomination for Presidency, July 12, 1880.*

But the danger which arises from ignorance in the voter cannot be denied. It covers a field far wider than that of Negro suffrage and the present condition of the race. It is a danger that lurks and hides in the sources and fountains of power in every State. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us by ignorance and vice in the citizens when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage.

The voters of the Union, who make and unmake constitutions, and upon whose will hang the destinies of our governments, can transmit their supreme authority to no successors save the coming generation of voters, who are the sole heirs of sovereign power. If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remediless.

The census has already sounded the alarm in the appalling figures which mark how dangerously high the tide of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children.

To the South this question is of supreme importance. But the responsibility for the existence of slavery did not rest upon the South alone. The Nation itself is responsible for the extension of the suffrage, and is under special obligations to aid in removing the illiteracy which it has added to the voting population. For the North and South alike there is but one remedy. All the constitutional power of the Nation and of the States and all the volunteer forces of the people should be surrounded to meet this danger by the savory influence of universal education.

It is the high privilege and sacred duty of those now living to educate their successors and fit them, by intelligence and virtue, for the inheritance which awaits them.

In this beneficent work sections and races should be forgotten and partisanship should be unknown. Let our people find a new meaning in the divine oracle which declares that "a little child shall lead them," for our own little children will soon control the destinies of the Republic.—*Inaugural address, Mar. 4, 1881.*

Chester Alan Arthur

(1830-1886. Lawyer; Twenty-first President of the United States)



Although our system of government does not contemplate that the nation should provide or support a system for the education of our people, no measures calculated to promote that general intelligence and virtue upon which the perpetuity of our institutions so greatly depends have ever been regarded with in-

difference by Congress or the Executive.

A large portion of the public domain has been from time to time devoted to the promotion of education.

There is now a special reason why, by setting apart the proceeds of its sales of public lands or by some other course, the Government should aid the work of education. Many who now exercise the right of suffrage are unable to read the ballot which they cast. Upon many who had just emerged from a condition of slavery were suddenly devolved the responsibilities of citizenship in that portion of the country most impoverished by war. I have been pleased to learn from the Report of the Commissioner of Education that there has lately been a commendable increase of interest and effort for their instruction; but all that can be done by local legislation and private generosity should be supplemented by such aid as can be constitutionally afforded by the National Government.

I would suggest that if any fund be dedicated to this purpose it may be wisely distributed in the different States according to

the ratio of illiteracy, as by this means those localities which are most in need of such assistance will reap its special benefits.

First annual message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1881.

No survey of our material condition can fail to suggest inquiries as to the moral and intellectual progress of the people. The census returns disclose an alarming state of illiteracy in certain portions of the country where the provision for schools is grossly inadequate. It is a momentous question for the decision of Congress whether immediate and substantial aid should not be extended by the general Government for supplementing the efforts of private beneficence and of State and Territorial legislation in behalf of education.—*Second annual message to Congress, Dec. 4, 1882.*

(Stephen) Grover Cleveland

(1837-1908. Statesman; Twenty-second President of the United States)



The theory of the State in furnishing more and better schools for the children is that it tends to fit them to perform better their duties as citizens, and that an educated man or woman is apt to be more useful as a member of the community.

A moment's reflection ought to convince all of you that when you have once entered upon the stern, uncompromising, and unrelenting duties of mature life there will be no time for study. You will have a contest then forced upon you which will strain every nerve and engross every faculty. A good education, if you have it, will aid you, but if you are without it you can not stop to acquire it. When you leave the school you are well equipped for the van in the army of life, or you are doomed to be a laggard, aimlessly and listlessly following in the rear.—*Writings and Speeches, selected and ed. . . . by G. F. Parker. New York [1892], pp. 218 19.*

Benjamin Harrison

(1833-1901. Lawyer and Soldier; Twenty-third President of the United States)



The interest of the general Government in the education of the people found an early expression, not only in the thoughtful and sometimes warning utterances of our ablest statesmen, but in liberal appropriations from the common resources for the support of education in the new States. No one will deny that it is of the gravest national concern that those who hold the ultimate control of all public affairs should have the necessary intelligence wisely to direct and determine them. National aid to education has hitherto taken the form of land grants, and in that form the constitutional power of Congress to promote the education of the people is not seriously questioned. I do not think it can be successfully questioned when the form is changed to that of a direct grant of money from the public Treasury.

Such aid should be, as it always has been, suggested by some exceptional conditions. The sudden emancipation of the slaves of the South, the bestowal of the suffrage which soon followed, and the impairment of the ability of the States where these new citizens were chiefly found to adequately provide educational facilities presented not only exceptional but unexampled conditions. That the situation has been much ameliorated there is no doubt. The ability and interest of the States have happily increased. But a great work remains to be done, and I think the general Government should lend its aid.—*First annual message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1889.*

William McKinley

(1843-1901. Lawyer and Statesman; Twenty-fifth President of the United States)



An open schoolhouse, free to all, evidences the highest type of advanced civilization. It is the gateway to progress, prosperity, and honor, and the best security for the liberties and independence of the people. It is the strongest rock of the foundation, the most enduring stone of the temple of liberty; our surest stay in every storm, our present safety, our future hope—aye, the very citadel of our influence and power. It is better than garrisons and guns, than forts and fleets. An educated people, governed by true moral principles, can never take a backward step, nor be dispossessed of their citizenship or liberties.—*Speech at dedication of a school building at Canal Fulton, Ohio. In Republican Campaign textbook, 1896. Washington, Hartman & Cadick, printers, 1896. p. 207.*

Theodore Roosevelt

(1858-1919. Soldier, Statesman, and Author; Twenty-sixth President of the United States)



Although we talk a good deal about what the widespread education of this country means, I question if many of us deeply consider its meaning. From the lowest grade of the public school to the highest form of university training education in this country is at the disposal of every man, every woman, who chooses to work for and obtain it. . . . Each one of us, then, who has an education, school or college, has obtained something from the community at large for which he or she has not paid, and no self-respecting man or woman is content to rest permanently under such an obligation. Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full in the shape of good citizenship.—*Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1904. New York and London, 1904, p. 200.*

No boy can afford to neglect his work, and with a boy work, as a rule, means study. . . . I am no advocate of senseless and excessive cramming in studies, but a boy should work, and should work hard, at his lessons—in the first place for the sake of what he will learn, and in the next place for the sake of the effect upon his own character of resolutely settling down to learn it. Shiftlessness, slackness, indifference in studying are almost certain to mean inability to get on in other walks of life.—*The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses. Philadelphia, 1903, p. 153.*

You teachers—and it is a mere truism to say this—you teachers make the whole world your debtor, and of you it can be said, as it can be said of no other profession save the profession of the ministers of the gospel themselves, if you teachers did not do your work well, this republic would not outlast the span of a generation. Moreover, as an incident to your avowed work, you render some well-nigh unbelievable services to the country. For instance, you render to this republic the prime, the vital service of amalgamating into one homogeneous body the children of those who are born here and of those who come here from so many different lands abroad. You furnish a common training and common ideals for the children of all the mixed peoples who are here being fused into one nationality. It is in no small degree due to you, and to your efforts, that we of this great American republic form one people instead of a group of jarring peoples. The children, wherever they have been born, wherever their parents have been born, who are educated in our schools side by side with one another, will inevitably grow up having that sense of mutual sympathy and mutual respect and understanding which is absolutely indispensable for working out the problems that we as citizens have before us.—*Address before the National Education Association, meeting at Ocean Grove, N. J., July 7, 1905, p. 147.*

William Howard Taft

(1857-1930. Jurist, Statesman, and Teacher; Twenty-seventh President of the United States)



I think the most important education that we have is the education which now I am glad to say is being accepted as the proper one, the one which ought to be most widely diffused, that industrial, vocational education which puts young men and young women in a position from which they can by their own efforts work themselves to independence.—*Address to the Students of the State Institute and College, at Columbus, Miss., Nov. 2, 1909. Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft, I. New York, 1910, p. 369.*

There was presented to Gen. Armstrong, the founder of this institution, the question of what we should do for the Negro and the Indian races in their almost helpless condition as we found them after the war. The necessity for helping their condition led him to undertake this system of education, that of manual dexterity, united with the teaching of life as it was to be. It has now developed not alone for Negroes and Indians, but for the white people throughout the land.—*Remarks at the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. Ibid., p. 445.*

The great public object of education, the real justification for a public-school system, is not to make people know more or fit them to know more. It is to give them the means by which they can become better men, better members of society, and more useful to their communities. Unless education promotes charac-

ter making, unless it helps men to be more moral, juster to their fellows, more law-abiding, more discriminatingly patriotic and public spirited, it is not worth the trouble taken to furnish it.—

Hampton's Gift to the Nation, in Southern Workman, June 1919, pp. 299-300.

The influence of Hampton upon its students is one of the most striking instances of personal inspiration that the writer has ever seen. Each year a company of men and women deeply interested in the cause of Negro education and uplift meet at Hampton's commencement and drink into their souls the spirit that the atmosphere and the environment and the attitude of the students and faculty give.

Hampton is a place for pessimists to visit that they may be cured of their unhappy state of mind. It is a place for materialists to go that their hearts may be opened and that they may be taught the value of unselfish help to others in securing happiness for the helper. It is a place for statesmen to visit in order that there may be revealed to them a way of creating citizens who shall strengthen a State. It is a place for him who would seek evidences of the great moral return to this country from the sacrifices of the Civil War to find them at Hampton in palpable form. It is a place for the southern white man, anxious for the promotion of his section of the country, to go that he may realize, as so many of his fellows now do, how essential and how possible it is to make his black fellow citizens of the fair South a source of profit, of peace, of law and order, and of general community happiness.

Upon the southern white man depends the solution of the race problem, and one of the hopeful signs is his growing interest in the method of solving it at Hampton and Tuskegee and the other great Negro educational institutions of the South.—*Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1923; No. 27, p. 4.*

Woodrow Wilson

(1856–1924. Educator and Statesman; Twenty-eighth President of the United States)



What we seek in education, is full liberation of the faculties, and the man who has not some surplus of thought and energy to expend outside the narrow circle of his own task and interest is a dwarfed, uneducated man. We judge the range and excellence of every man's abilities by their play outside the task by which he earns his livelihood. Does he merely work, or does he also look abroad and plan?—*Princeton for the Nation's Service. Princeton, printed not published, 1903, pp. 32–33. (Address delivered on the occasion of his inauguration as president of Princeton University, Oct. 25, 1902.)*

Moral efficiency is, in the last analysis, the fundamental argument for liberal culture. A merely literary education, got out of books and old literature, is a poor thing enough if the teacher sticks at grammatical and syntactical drill; but if it be indeed an introduction into the thoughtful labors of men of all generations it may be made a prologue to the mind's emancipation; its emancipation from narrowness—from narrowness of sympathy, of perception, of motive, of purpose, and of hope.—*Ibid., p. 38.*

We seek in our general education not universal knowledge, but the opening up of the mind to a catholic appreciation of the best achievements of men and the best processes of thought since days of thought set in.—*Ibid., p. 21.*

Popular education is necessary for the preservation of those conditions of freedom, political and social, which are indispensable to free individual development. And, in the second place, no instrumentality less universal in its power and authority than government can secure popular education. . . . Without popular education, moreover, no government which rests upon popular action can long endure. The people must be schooled in the knowledge, and, if possible, in the virtues upon which the maintenance and success of free institutions depend. No free government can last in health if it lose hold of the traditions of its history, and in the public schools these traditions may be and should be sedulously preserved, carefully replanted in the thought and consciousness of each successive generation.—*The State, etc.*, rev. ed. Boston [etc.] [1898], pp. 638-39.

The problems of education are really problems affecting the national development and national ideas. I think that no one long associated with the profession of teaching can have failed to catch the inspiration of it, or to see how great a power may be exercised through the classroom in directing the thinking and the ambition of the generations coming on, or can have failed to realize that nothing less than a comprehension of the national life is necessary for a teacher for the great task of preparation and adaptation to the future that education attempts.—*Journal of Education*, vol. 80, July 23, 1914, p. 94.

Warren Gamaliel Harding

(1865-1923. Statesman; Twenty-ninth President of the United States)



Without vision the people perish. Without education there can be little vision. Of education it must be said that "It is twice blest; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes." It will be greatly worth the effort if we can impress this thought upon the young manhood and womanhood of the Nation and redirect their interest and patriotic zeal to the idea of making a proper contribution to educational work. It is regrettable that so few young men and women, equipped for such service, are nowadays disposed to give their time and talents to teaching. Education needs their young eagerness, zeal, and enthusiasm. . . .

The strength and security of the Nation will always rest in the intelligent body of its people. Our education should implant conceptions of public duty and private obligations broad enough to envisage the problems of a greatly distraught world. More than anything else, men and women need the capacity to see with clear eye and to contemplate with open, unprejudiced mind the issues of these times. Only through a properly motivated and generously inspired process of education can this be accomplished.—*Broadside issued by the U. S. Office of Education for American Education Week, Nov. 18-24, 1923.*

I think it is highly important that we contemplate the cause of education from the national viewpoint. I do not mean thereby that there shall be a national trespass upon the right of States in matters of education, but I do think it is exceedingly important

to get the broader viewpoint of the Nation. We have been making notable progress in coming to the realization of the importance of our public schools and are coming to the wholesome awakening about their need of the more generous support. One can only feel amazement that we have been so tardy in coming to a realization of the scant consideration given to the teachers in the American public schools and we have been remiss in understanding the limitless possibilities of our public-school work.—*Remarks of the Republican nominee for President, in School Life, Aug. 15, 1920, p. 1.*

Calvin Coolidge

(1872-1933. Lawyer and Statesman; Thirtieth President of the United States)



The chief defenses of democracy are not material. They are mental and spiritual. At the very foundation of the structure of democracy must be a sound system of public education. The general diffusion of wisdom and knowledge among the body of the people is a first essential to their welfare. Upon education the Republic must chiefly rely for its political, economic, and social betterment.

A highly enlightened public policy must be adopted if the cause of education is not to break down. It is perfectly clear that the public schools must have the most liberal support, both moral and financial. Particularly must the people exalt the profession of the teacher. That profession must not be abandoned or be permitted to become a trade for those little fitted for it. It must remain the noblest profession. There are no pains too great, no cost too high, to prevent or diminish the duty of the people to maintain a vigorous program of popular education.—*Remarks of the Republican nominee for Vice President, in School Life, Aug. 15, 1920, p. 2.*

Herbert Clark Hoover

(1874- Engineer; Thirty-first President of the United States)



Although education is primarily a responsibility of the States and local communities, and rightly so, yet the Nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development everywhere to the highest standards and to complete universality. Self-government can succeed only through an instructed electorate. Our objective is not simply to overcome illiteracy. The Nation has marched far beyond that. The more complex the problems of the Nation become, the greater is the need for more and more advanced instruction. Moreover, as our numbers increase and as our life expands with science and invention, we must discover more and more leaders for every walk of life. We cannot hope to succeed in directing this increasingly complex civilization unless we can draw all the talent of leadership from the whole people. One civilization after another has been wrecked upon the attempt to secure sufficient leadership from a single group or class. If we would prevent the growth of class distinctions and would constantly refresh our leadership with the ideals of our people, we must draw constantly from the general mass. The full opportunity for every boy and girl to rise through the selective processes of education can alone secure to us this leadership.—*Inaugural address, Mar. 4, 1929. Cong. Record, 71st Cong., special sess.*

No nation in the world's history has so devoutly believed in, and so deeply pledged itself to, free universal education. In

this great experiment America marches in advance of all other nations.

To maintain the moral and spiritual fiber of our people, to sustain the skill required to use the tools which great discoveries in science have given us, to hold our national ideals, we must not fail in the support and constant improvement of our school system. Both as the cause and the effect the maintenance of our complex civilization now depends upon it.—*Address before the National Education Association, 1926, p. 728.*

The passion of American fathers and mothers is to lift children to higher opportunities than they have themselves enjoyed. It burns like a flame in us as a people. Kindled in our country by its first pioneers, who came here to better the opportunities for their children rather than for themselves, passed on from one generation to the next, it has never dimmed nor died. Indeed, human progress marches only when children excel their parents. In democracy our progress is the sum of progress of the individuals—that they each individually achieve to the full capacity of their abilities and character. Their varied personalities and abilities must be brought full to bloom; they must not be mentally regimented to a single mold or the qualities of many will be stifled; the door of opportunity must be opened to each of them.—*Journal of the National Education Association, October 1931, p. 250.*

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

(1882- Statesman; Thirty-Second President of the United States)



We talk glibly of our wonderful American educational system; but there still remains so much to be done in the way of extending and improving it that no citizen should rest content until the necessary steps have been taken.

Nearly one-fourth of the first million and a half men taken into the Army under the recent draft system were wholly or in part illiterate.

Two great goals must be sought—first, education must become truly universal, reaching into every corner of every State and of every community; secondly, the profession of teaching must become dignified as the foundation of modern democratic life. The teachers of the Nation must receive not only adequate pay but have a standing in the community which will make their position that of the highest possible influence for the good.—*Remarks of the Democratic nominee for Vice President, in School Life, Aug. 15, 1920, p. 2.*

Education must light the path for social change. The social and economic problems confronting us are growing in complexity. The more complex and difficult these problems become, the more essential it is to provide broad and complete education; that kind of education that will equip us as a nation to decide these problems for the best interest of all concerned. Our ultimate security, to a large extent, is based upon the individual's character, information, skill, and attitude—and the responsibility rests squarely upon those who direct education in America. It is

your duty, no less than mine, to look beyond the narrow confines of the schoolroom; to see that education provides understanding, strength, and security for those institutions we have treasured since we first established ourselves as a nation and shall continue everlastingly to cherish. *Letter to E. E. Oberholzer, Feb. 26, 1935, in Journal of the National Education Association, April 1935, p. 131.*

STATESMEN AND LAWYERS

Benjamin Franklin

(1706-1790. Philosopher, Statesman, Diplomat, and Author)

THE GOOD education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages as the surest foundation of the happiness both of private families and of commonwealths. Almost all governments have therefore made it a principal object of their attention to establish and endow with proper revenues such seminaries of learning as might supply the succeeding age with men qualified to serve the public with honor to themselves and to their country. *Writings, II, p. 388. Collected and ed. by A. H. Smyth. (Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1749)*

I think with you that nothing is of more importance for the public weal than to form and train up youth in wisdom and virtue. Wise and good men are, in my opinion, the strength of a State; much more so than riches or arms, which, under the management of ignorance and wickedness, often draw on destruction, instead of providing for the safety of the people. And though the culture bestowed on many should be successful only with a few, yet the influence of those few and the service in their power may be very great. Even a single woman, that was wise, by her wisdom saved the city.

I think also that general virtue is more probably to be expected and obtained from the education of youth than from the exhortation of adult persons; bad habits and vices of the mind being, like diseases of the body, more easily prevented than cured.

I think, moreover, that talents for the education of youth are the gift of God, and that he on whom they are bestowed, whenever a way is opened for the use of them, is as strongly "called" as if he heard a voice from heaven; nothing more surely pointing out duty in a public service than ability and opportunity of performing it.—*Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, first president of King's College, now Columbia University, in Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 140-41.*

John Hancock

• (1737-1793. American Patriot and Statesman; First Governor of Massachusetts)

AMONGST the means by which our government has been raised to its present height of prosperity, that of education has been the most efficient; you will therefore encourage and support our Colleges and Academies; but more watchfully the Grammar and other town schools. These offer equal advantages to poor and rich; should the support of such institutions be neglected, the kind of education which a free government requires to maintain its force, would be very soon forgotten.—*Message to the Legislature as Governor of Massachusetts, 1793.*

James Wilson

• (1742-1798. Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1798)

AMONG the ancients, those who studied and practiced the sciences of jurisprudence and government with the greatest success were convinced, and by their conduct showed their conviction, that the fate of States depends on the education of youth.

History, experience, and philosophy combine in declaring that the best and most happy of countries is that country which is the most enlightened.—*Works, II, p. 102. Andrews ed. Chicago, 1896.*

John Jay

(1745-1829. Statesman and Jurist; First Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1795)

I CONSIDER knowledge to be the soul of a republic, and as the weak and the wicked are generally in alliance, as much care should be taken to diminish the number of the former as of the latter. Education is the way to do this, and nothing should be left undone to afford all ranks of people the means of obtaining a proper degree of it at a cheap and easy rate.—*To Benj. Rush. Correspondence and Public Papers, III, p. 139. H. P. Johnston ed. New York and London [1891].*

Albert Gallatin

(1761-1849. Statesman and Financier)

FOR it appeared to me impossible to preserve our democratic institutions and the right of universal suffrage unless we could raise the standard of *general* education and the mind of the laboring classes nearer to a level with those born under more favorable circumstances.—*Life of Albert Gallatin. By Henry Adams. Philadelphia, 1879, p. 648.*

De Witt Clinton

(1769-1828. Lawyer and Statesman; Governor of New York, 1817-1823 and 1825-1828)

THE FIRST duty of government, and the surest evidence of good government, is the encouragement of education. A general diffusion of knowledge is the precursor and protector of republican institutions, and in it we must confide as the conservative power that will watch over our liberties and guard them against fraud, intrigue, corruption, and violence. I consider the system of our common schools as the palladium of our freedom, for no reasonable apprehension can be entertained of its subversion as long as the great body of the people are enlightened by education.—*Message as Governor.*

In casting a view over the civilized world, we find an universal accordance in opinion on the benefits of education; but the practical exposition of this opinion exhibits a deplorable contrast. While magnificent colleges and universities are erected and endowed and dedicated to literature, we behold few liberal appropriations for diffusing the blessings of knowledge among all descriptions of people. The fundamental error of Europe has been to confine the light of knowledge to the wealthy and the great, while the humble and the depressed have been as sedulously excluded from its participation. . . .

More just and rational views have been entertained on this subject in the United States. Here no privileged orders, no factitious distinctions in society, no hereditary nobility, no established religion, no royal prerogatives, exist to interpose barriers between the people, and to create distinct classifications in society. All men being considered as enjoying an equality of rights, the propriety and necessity of dispensing, without distinction, the blessings of education, followed of course.—*Address on Education before the Public School Society of the City of New York, Dec. 11, 1809. In History of the Public School Society of the City of New York. By W. O. Bourne. New York, 1870, p. 15.*

Francis Scott Key

(1779–1843. Jurist and Poet; Author of *The Star-Spangled Banner*)

A GOVERNMENT administered for the benefit of all, should provide all practical means of happiness for all. It must also provide useful citizens competent to the discharge of the various services the public interests may require. Education confers happiness, and usefulness, and therefore demands attention. No maxim is more readily admitted than, that a wise and free government should provide for the education of its citizens; but the maxim seems not to be admitted to its just extent. A state affords to the poor or labouring class of its population the means of obtaining a common education, such an one as prepares them

for the ordinary duties of their situation, and of which alone they can generally avail themselves, who can give but a small portion of their time, and none of their means, to such pursuits.

And it is too generally thought that this is enough—that the state has discharged its duty—and that what remains to be done, to fit men for higher degrees of happiness and usefulness, and to qualify them for a wider sphere of duty, may be left to itself. But it is not enough. More, far more can be done, even for those for whose benefit what is done is intended. . . .

There are, and ever will be, the poor and the rich, the men of labour and the men of leisure, and the state which neglects either, neglects a duty, and neglects it at its peril, for whichever it neglects will be not only useless but mischievous. They have equal claims to the means of happiness. They are capable of making equal returns of service to the public.—*A discourse on education, delivered at Annapolis, Feb. 22, 1827, p. 6.*

Daniel Webster

(1782–1852. Statesman, Orator, and Lawyer)

EDUCATION, to accomplish the ends of good government, should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the school-house to all the children in the land. Let no man have the excuse of poverty for not educating his own offspring. Place the means of education within his reach, and if they remain in ignorance, be it his own reproach. . . . On the diffusion of education among the people rest the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions.—*Speech delivered at Madison, Ind., June 1837. Writings and Speeches, II, p. 253. Boston, 1903.*

Thaddeus Stevens

(1793-1868. Statesman and Lawyer)

IF AN elective Republic is to endure for any great length of time, every elector must have sufficient information not only to accumulate wealth and take care of his pecuniary concerns but to direct wisely the legislature, the ambassadors, and the Executive of the Nation—for some part of all these things, some agency in approving or disapproving of them, falls to every freeman. If, then, the permanency of our Government depends upon such knowledge, it is the duty of Government to see that the means of information be diffused to every citizen. This is a sufficient answer to those who deem education a private and not a public duty—who argue that they are willing to educate their own children but not their neighbors' children.—*A Plea for Public Schools. (Excerpt from "A Speech against the Repeal of the School Law," delivered in the Pennsylvania Legislature April 1835.) See Thaddeus Stevens. By S. W. McCall. Boston, 1899. Reprinted in U. S. Bureau of Education Annual Report of the Commissioner for the year 1898-99, vol. 1, pp. 518-24.*

Edward Everett

(1794-1865. Statesman, Orator, and Author)

OUR governments, as well as individuals, have, I must needs say, a duty to discharge, to the cause of education. Something has been done, by some of the State governments much has been done, for this cause; but too much, I fear, remains undone. In the main, in appropriating the public funds, we tread too much in the footsteps of European precedents. I could wish our legislators might be animated with a purer ambition.—*Address On Superior and Popular Education. In Importance of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge. New York, Harper & Bros., 1847. p. 273.*

Silas Wright

(1795-1847. American Statesman and Governor of New York)

NO PUBLIC fund of the State is so unpretending, yet so all pervading,—so little seen, yet so universally felt,—so mild in its exactions, yet so bountiful in its benefits,—so little feared or courted, and yet so powerful, as this fund for the support of Common Schools. The other funds act upon the secular interests of society, its business, its pleasures, its pride, its passions, its vices, its misfortunes. This acts upon its mind and its morals. Education is to free institutions what bread is to human life,—the staff of their existence. . . . Our school fund is not instituted to make our children and youth either partisans in politics, or sectarians in religion; but to give them education, intelligence, sound principles, good moral habits, and a free and independent spirit; in short, to make them American freemen and American citizens, and to qualify them to judge and choose for themselves in matters of politics, religion, and government.

Message of Silas Wright, Governor of the State of New York, in Common School Journal, Feb. 1, 1845, pp. 46-47.

Mirabeau B. Lamar

(1798-1859. Statesman and Soldier; President of the Republic of Texas, 1838-1841)

IF WE desire to establish a republican government upon a broad and permanent basis, it will become our duty to adopt a comprehensive and well-regulated system of moral and mental culture. Education is a subject in which every citizen, and especially every parent, feels a deep and lively concern. It is one in which no jarring interests are involved, and no acrimonious political feelings excited, for its benefits are so universal that all parties can cordially unite in advancing it. It is admitted by all that cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy, and, while guided and controlled by virtue, is the noblest attribute of man.

It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security that freemen desire.—*Message to the Congress of the Republic of Texas, Dec. 20, 1838. House Journal of Third Congress, p. 169.*

Charles Sumner

(1811–1874. Statesman and Lawyer)

IN A republic, education is indispensable. A republic without education is like the creature of imagination, a human being without a soul, living and moving blindly, with no just sense of the present or the future.—*Works, XIV. Boston, 1900, p. 336.*

Walter Hines Page

(1855–1918. Publicist and Diplomat)

THE old aristocratic system had a leaning toward charity as the ecclesiastical system has; and the view of education as a charity has always been one of the greatest weaknesses of both systems. Education pays the State. The more persons educated, the better education pays the State.—*In The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths. New York, 1905, p. 42.*

I believe in the free public training of both the hands and the mind of every child born of woman.

I believe that by the right training of men we add to the wealth of the world. All wealth is the creation of man, and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and the more men we train the more wealth everyone may create.—*Ibid., p. 102.*

The far-reaching quality of the work that the energetic educators in the South are doing lifts them out of the ranks of mere schoolmasters and puts them on the level of constructive statesmen. They are the servants of democracy in a sense that no other public servants now are, for they are the rebuilders of these old commonwealths.—*Ibid., pp. 150–51.*

To talk about education in a democratic country as meaning anything else than free public education for every child is a mockery. To call anything else education at all is to go back toward the Middle Ages, when it was regarded as a privilege of gentlemen or as a duty of the church, and not as a necessity for the people.—*Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

EDUCATORS AND PHILANTHROPISTS

William Penn

(1644-1718. Philanthropist and Founder of Pennsylvania)

ALL persons within the province and territories thereof having children, and all the guardians or trustees of orphans, shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to the age of 12 years, and that they then be taught some useful trade or skill that the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want; of which every county court shall take care.—*School clause of Penn's law, quoted in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1878, p. XLVII.*

Emma Hart Willard

(1787-1870. Educator)

EDUCATION should seek to bring its subjects to the perfection of their moral, intellectual, and physical nature: in order that they may be of the greatest possible use to themselves and others: or, to use a different expression, that they may be the means of the greatest possible happiness of which they are capable, both as to what they enjoy, and what they communicate.

Those youth have the surest chance of enjoying and communicating happiness, who are best qualified, both by internal dispositions, and external habits, to perform with readiness, those duties, which their future life will most probably give them occasion to practice.

Studies and employments should, therefore, be selected, from one or both of the following considerations; either, because they

are peculiarly fitted to improve the faculties; or, because they are such, as the pupil will most probably have occasion to practice in future life. *An Address to the Public . . . proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education.* 1819, pp. 18-19.

George Peabody

(1795-1869. Philanthropist)

I REFER to the educational needs of those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages and the not less disastrous consequences of civil war . . .

My hope and faith in its successful and glorious future have grown brighter and stronger; . . . I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations, and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before.

But, to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth; and, in those portions of our nation to which I have referred, the urgent and pressing physical needs of an almost impoverished people must, for some years, preclude them from making, by unaided effort, such advances in education, and such progress in the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, as every lover of his country must earnestly desire.

I feel most deeply, therefore, that it is the duty and privilege of the more favored and wealthy portions of our nation to assist those who are less fortunate; and with the wish to discharge, so far as I may be able, my own responsibility in this matter, as well as to gratify my desire to aid those to whom I am bound by so many ties of attachment and regard, I give to you, gentlemen, most of whom have been my personal and especial friends, the sum of one million dollars, to be by you and your successors held in trust, and the income thereof used and applied in your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute

portions of the Southern and South-Western States of the Union; my purpose being, that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them.—*Letter to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and others. In The Life of George Peabody, by Phebe A. Hanaford. Boston, B. B. Russell, 1870, pp. 156-58*

Horace Mann

(1796–1859. Statesman and Educator)

OUR common schools are a system of unsurpassable grandeur and efficiency. Their influences reach, with more or less directness and intensity, all the children belonging to the State children who are soon to be the State. They act upon these children at the most impressible period of their existence imparting qualities of mind and heart which will be magnified by diffusion and deepened by time, until they will be involved into national character, into weal or woe, into renown or ignorance; and, at last, will stamp their ineffaceable seal upon our history.—*Annual Reports on Education, vol. 3, p. 420. Boston, 1868. (Report for 1845.)*

I believe in the existence of a great, immortal, immutable principle of natural law, or natural ethics—a principle antecedent to all human institutions, and incapable of being abrogated by any ordinance of man; a principle of divine origin, clearly legible in the ways of Providence as those ways are manifested in the order of nature and in the history of the race, which proves the *absolute right* to an education of every human being that comes into the world; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all.—*Ibid., p. 533. (Report for 1846.)*

Education must be universal. It is well when the wise and the learned discover new truths, but how much better to diffuse the truths already discovered amongst the multitude! Every addi-

tion to true knowledge is an addition to human power; and while a philosopher is discovering one new truth, millions may be propagated amongst the people. Diffusion, then, rather than discovery, is the duty of the government.—*Means and Objects of Common-School Education: Lectures and Annual Reports on Education. Cambridge, 1867, p. 83.*

It is related of a certain king, that, when embarked on a voyage, attended by some of his courtiers, and carrying with him some of his treasures, a storm arose, which made it necessary to lighten the ship; whereupon, he commanded his courtiers to be thrown overboard, but saved his money. How is it with parents who are embarked with fortune and family on this voyage of life, when they need a better schoolhouse to save their children from ill health, or a better teacher to rescue them from immorality and ignorance; or even a slate or a shilling's worth of paper to save them from idleness; have we any parents amongst us, or have we not, who, under such circumstances, will fling the child overboard and save the shilling?—*An Historical View of Education; Showing its Dignity and its Degradation. Lecture V. In Lectures and Reports on Education, vol. 2, p. 243. Cambridge, 1867.*

If we do not prepare children to become good citizens;— if we do not develop their capacities, if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, imbue their hearts with the love of truth and duty, and a reverence for all things sacred and holy, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it; and mankind must sweep through another vast cycle of sin and suffering, before the dawn of a better era can arise upon the world. It is for our government, and for that public opinion, which, in a republic, governs the government, to choose between these alternatives of weal or woe.—*Eighth Annual Report of Education, Boston, 1844, pp. 135-36.*

Mary Lyon

(1797-1849. Educator)

WE cannot hope for a state of things essentially better till the principle is admitted that female seminaries, designed for the public benefit, must be founded by the hand of public benevolence, and be subject to the rules enjoined by such benevolence. Let this principle be fully admitted, and let it have sufficient time to produce its natural effects, and it will be productive of more important results than can be easily estimated. Then our large seminaries may be permanent, with all the mutual responsibility and cooperation which the principle of permanency produces.—*Principles and Design of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, in The Power of Christian Benevolence illustrated in the Life and Labors of Mary Lyon. Comp. by Edward Hitchcock. Northampton, 1860, p. 308.*

Catherine Esther Beecher

(1800-1878. Educator and Reformer)

IN regard to education, the world is now making experiments such as were never made before. Man is demanding disenfranchisement, alike from physical force and intellectual slavery; and by a slow and secret process, one nation after another is advancing in a sure, though silent progress. Man is bursting the chains of slavery and the bonds of intellectual subserviency; and is learning to think, and reason, and act for himself. And the great crisis is hastening on, when it shall be decided whether disenthralled intellect and liberty shall voluntarily submit to the laws of virtue and of Heaven, or run wild to insubordination, anarchy, and crime. The great questions pending before the world, are simply these: Are liberty and intelligence, without the restraints of a moral and religious education, a blessing, or a curse? Without moral and religious restraints, is it best for man to receive the gift of liberty and intelligence, or to remain

coerced by physical force and the restraints of opinions and customs not his own?—*An Essay on the Education of Female Teachers*. New York, Van Nostrand & Dwight, 1835, p. 177.

And thus it has come to pass, that while every intelligent man in the Union is reading and saying every day of his life, that unless our children are trained to intelligence and virtue, the nation is ruined; yet there is nothing else for which so little interest is felt, or so little done.—*The Evils Suffered by American Women and American Children*. New York, Harper & Bros., 1846, p. 5.

Henry Barnard

(1811–1900. Educator; First U. S. Commissioner of Education)

IF education was properly understood—if all the influences which go to mould and modify the physical, moral, and intellectual habits of a child, were felt to be that child's education—parents and the public would not tolerate such schoolhouses, with all their bad influences, in doors and out of doors, such imperfect and illiberal school arrangements, in almost every particular, as are now found in a large majority of the school districts of the State. If they had a proper estimate of the influence of teachers, for good or for evil, for time and eternity, on the character and destiny of their pupils, they would employ, if within the reach of their means, those best qualified to give strength and grace to the body; clearness, vigor, and richness to the mind; and the highest and purest feelings to the moral nature of every child entrusted to their care.

If the ends of education were regarded, something more would be aimed at than to enable a child to read, write, and cypher, or to attain any degree of mere knowledge. As far as the individual is concerned, it would be to secure the highest degree of health, powers of accurate observation, and clear reflection, and noble feelings; as far as the public is concerned, the prevention of vice and crime, and the keeping pure the source of the peace,

order, and progress of society.—*Second annual report as Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, 1840. In Connecticut Common school journal, 2: 217, June 1840.*

The cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being, without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune, is worthy of the concentration of all our powers, and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money, and labor, we may be called upon to make in its behalf. Ever since the Great Teacher condescended to dwell among men, the progress of this cause has been upward and onward, and its final triumph has been longed for, and prayed for, and believed in, by every lover of his race. . . . The cause of education can not fail, unless all the laws which have hitherto governed the progress of society shall cease to operate, and Christianity shall prove to be a fable, and liberty a dream.—*Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. 1, p. 735.*

Charles William Eliot

(1834–1926. Educator)

MEN have always revered prodigious inborn gifts and always will. Indeed, barbarous men always say of the possessors of such gifts: These are not men, they are gods. But we teachers, who carry on a system of popular education which is by far the most complex and valuable invention of the nineteenth century, know that we have to do, not with the highly gifted units, but with the millions who are more or less capable of being cultivated by the long, patient, artificial training called "education." For us and our system the genius is no standard, but the cultivated man is. To his stature we and many of our pupils may in time attain.—*The New Definition of the Cultivated Men. National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1903, pp. 46–47.*

It is but natural . . . that universities should be always and everywhere patriotic. They seek ideals, and our country in the

modern sense is one of the noblest of ideals, being no longer represented by an idealized person, as the king or queen, but being rather a personified ideal, free, strong, and beautiful. —*The Aims of the Higher Education. In Educational Reform. New York, 1898, p. 249.*

I believe that the American people accept, as one just definition of democracy, Napoleon's phrase, "Every career open to talent"; and I believe that this saying will fairly characterize the grammar school of the future. —*The Grammar School of the Future. Ibid., p. 311.*

William Torrey Harris

(1835–1909. Philosopher and Educator; Fourth U. S. Commissioner of Education)

OUR modern philanthropy has not discovered anything that will produce self-help in the criminal and pauper classes except education, intellectual and moral. Such help is all pure gain. All aid to education is well invested. Other kinds of aid to the individual may produce mendicancy, but aid to education cannot and will not do this.

The problems of education in this nation relate to the treatment of immense rural populations in most of the Southern States, and in many of our Northern States slowly changing into urban populations, and subject to this strain upon their individual directive powers. We need larger State school taxation, which shall use the wealth of the cities to help educate the country population. We need national aid to swell the funds that shall reach the remotest country districts. Education, in a country where the government is by the majorities and where each citizen must submit to the majority—education is a matter of national importance; it is of State importance and of individual importance. All interests coincide, and all ought to bear a share in it.

Our nation should not assume direction of education as a general government, but it should aid education. Not even the

State should assume all directive control over education, but it should aid it and partially supervise it. The local self-direction of towns should administer and for the most part supervise it. Rural education now is the greatest of our interests; it is a national interest of the most colossal kind. Secondary to it, and not much below it, are the education and nurture of the weaklings in will-power and intellectual power that drift to our cities without getting on their feet through self-help. We must take the children of these classes, and compel them to receive intellectual, moral, and industrial education, from infancy up to advanced youth.

There is no way of reaching the rural schools except by increasing the money appropriated for them by State and National aid. The States, especially in the regions where rural life is in predominance, are now making their State taxes for education much larger than other sections of the country. This fact shows the importance of National aid to education. It is the only way of reaching the rural districts except by disproportionate State taxation.

The true relation of General Government to public education throughout the country is not one of dictation or direction of it—not one of interference in any manner with the State, and township management, but it should be one of aid and encouragement to the educative organizations already established in the several States. Such National aid will not, and cannot "promote mendicancy" as it is called by extreme individualists. It is evident, from the nature of education, that it is the very instrumentality of all that aids self-help—stimulates individuality, creates self-respect, and increases all kinds of individual enterprise.—*The General Government and Public Education Throughout the Country. National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1890, pp: 488-89.*

Booker T. Washington

(1856-1915. Negro Educational Leader)

IS IT not true that wherever one finds the highest degree of intelligence, does he not without exception find there the most satisfactory service, whether of hand, head, or heart? A commonwealth can afford to have ignorant slaves and exist, but never ignorant freemen and be safe. It is not, as a rule, the educated man or woman of my race who is guilty of crime, or who is charged with crime. It is the one who has never had the great American chance. Our country will not be safe so long as it carries such a load of ignorance. We have attempted for a number of years to stop crime by lynching, but there are some conditions which cannot be lynched away. One cannot lynch disease, ignorance, or idleness; these conditions can only be cured by education. . . .—*The Southern Workman*, July 1905, p. 403.

That education, whether of black man or white man, that gives one physical courage to stand in front of a cannon and fails to give him moral courage to stand up in defense of right and justice, is a failure.—*The Southern Workman*, August 1898, cover. .

I claim that, in the present condition of our people, industrial education will have a special place in helping us out of our present state. . . . You will find that in proportion as we give industrial training in connection with academic training, there go with it a knowledge and a feeling that there is a dignity, a civilizing power, in intelligent labor. And you will find at those institutions where industrial education is emphasized, and the student enabled to work out his own expenses, that the very effort gives him a certain amount of self-reliance or backbone he would not get without such effort on his part.—*National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1900, p. 117.

Edwin Anderson Alderman

(1861-1931. Statesman and Educator)

JEFFERSON perceived the meaning of education as an influence upon national as distinct from individual development, and for 40 years his mind played constantly around three lines of institutional reform in Virginia—elementary instruction for every child, in order to guarantee citizenship, to elevate economic desire, and to increase industrial capacity; secondary education, or more education for those fit for it; university education, or training for leadership.—*Inaugural Address as President of the University of Virginia, Apr. 13, 1905. The University of Virginia in the Life of the Nation. [Charlottesville? Va., 1905?] p. 100.*

- Humanism produced the man of culture and his peril was self-sufficiency and a conception of culture as ornament. Applied science and the imperious demands of commerce have produced the man of efficiency, and his peril is personal barrenness and instinctive greed. Our country needs the idealism of the one and the lordship over things of the other, and such a blend will be the great citizen whose advent an industrial democracy has so long foreshadowed. . . . Fashioned by the sweep of genius through experience, great citizens may come who have never seen a university, but universities are the organized efforts of monarchies and democracies to produce such types, and our duty is to perfect the organism and to work and hope.—*Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

The higher education is the dynamic element in the life of the community, invigorating the schools of the people, bravely struggling to elevate the common standard of living, supplying the State with its teachers in the schoolroom, the press, the pulpit, the family.—*Higher Education in the South. National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1895, pp. 982-83.*

LEADERS IN OTHER FIELDS

Francis Marion

(1732-1795. Planter and Revolutionary War Leader)

MEN will always fight for their government according to their sense of its value. To value it aright, they must understand it. This they can not do without education. And as a large portion of the citizens are poor, and can never attain that inestimable blessing without the aid of government, it is plainly the first duty of government to bestow it freely upon them. The more perfect the government, the greater the duty to make it well known. *Last interview of Gen. Peter Horry with General Marion in 1795.*

[Horry fought under Marion in the Revolution and wrote a biography of his chief.]

Benjamin Rush

(1745-1813. Physician and Signer of the Declaration of Independence)

THE blessings of knowledge can be extended to the poor and labouring part of the community, only by means of Free Schools. . . .

To a people enlightened in the principles of liberty and Christianity, arguments, it is to be hoped, will be unnecessary to persuade them to adopt these necessary and useful institutions. The children of poor people form a great proportion of all communities—their ignorance and vices, when neglected are not confined to themselves—they associate with, and contaminate the children of persons in the higher ranks of society—thus they assist, after they arrive at manhood, in choosing the rulers who govern the

whole community—they give a complexion to the morals and manners of the people—in short, where the common people are ignorant and vicious, a nation, and, above all, a republican nation, can never long be free and happy. It becomes us, therefore, as we love our offspring, and value the freedom and prosperity of our country, immediately to provide for the education of the poor children, who are so numerous in the thick settled parts of the state.—*Article in the Independent Gazetteer, Mar. 28, 1787, unsigned, but attributed to Dr. Rush. In Benjamin Rush and His Services to American Education, by Harry G. Good. Berne, Ind., Watness press, 1918, pp. 221-22.*

William Ellery Channing

(1780–1842, Minister, Author, and Philanthropist)

NOW, I ask, why shall not the public lands be consecrated (in whole or in part, as the case may require) to the education of the people? This measure would secure at once what the country most needs, that is, able, accomplished, quickening teachers of the whole rising generation. The present poor remuneration of instructors is a dark omen, and the only real obstacle which the cause of education has to contend with. We need for our schools gifted men and women, worthy, by their intelligence and their moral power, to be entrusted with a nation's youth; and to gain these we must pay them liberally, as well as afford other proofs of the consideration in which we hold them. In the present state of the country, when so many paths of wealth and promotion are opened, superior men cannot be won to an office so responsible and laborious as that of teaching, without stronger inducements than are now offered, except in some of our large cities. The office of instructor ought to rank and be recompensed as one of the most honorable in society; and I see not how this is to be done, at least in our day, without appropriating to it the public domain. This is the people's property, and the only part of their property which is likely to

be soon devoted to the support of a high order of institutions for public education. This object, interesting to all classes of society has peculiar claims on those whose means of improvement are restricted by narrow circumstances. The mass of the people should devote themselves to it as one man, should toil for it with one soul. Mechanics, Farmers, Laborers! Let the country echo with your united cry, 'The Public Lands for Education.' — *Self Culture*. Boston, James Munroe & Co., 1842, pp. 102 104.

Francis Wayland

(1796-1865. Preacher, Educator, and Sociologist)

IN a free country like our own, unembarrassed by precedents, and not yet entangled by the vested rights of bygone ages, ought we not to originate a system of education which shall raise to high intellectual culture the whole mass of our people? When our systems of education shall look with as kindly an eye on the mechanic as the lawyer, on the manufacturer and merchant as the minister; when every artizan, performing his process with a knowledge of the laws by which it is governed, shall be transformed from an unthinking laborer into a practical philosopher; and when the benign principles of Christianity shall imbue the whole mass of our people with the spirit of universal love, then, and not till then, shall we illustrate to the nations the blessings of Republican and Christian institutions. — *Address, on the Education Demanded by the People of the United States, July 25, 1854, in The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Nott's presidency of Union College, July 25, 1854, p. 50.*

It may I suppose be taken for granted that the settled policy of the United States is to furnish the means for obtaining a common English education to every citizen, and to improve that education from time to time without any assignable limit. It may then be hoped that within a short time every American citizen will be able to read, write, and keep accounts, and that at no very distant period he will also be familiar with all the

more important branches of elementary knowledge. Our resources must be strangely misapplied, and our efforts cursed with suicidal blindness, if these anticipations be not a considerable degree realized within the experience of the present generation.

Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States, 1842, pp. 34.

When the means of education everywhere throughout our country, shall be free as the air we breathe; when every family shall have its Bible,—then, and not till then, shall we exert our proper influence on the cause of man; then, and not till then, shall we be prepared to stand forth between the oppressor and the oppressed, and say to the proud wave of domination: "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther."

The paramount duty of every American citizen is to put in requisition every possible means for elevating universally the intellectual and moral character of our people. The intellectual stores of the English language are open before every man, in which he may find all the knowledge that he will ever need to form his opinions upon any subjects, on which it will be his duty to decide. A man who can not read is a being not contemplated by the genius of our constitution. Where the right of suffrage is extended to all, he is certainly a dangerous member of the community, who has not qualified himself to exercise it.—*Duties of an American citizen, in Sanders' Young Ladies' Reader. New York, Ivison & Phinney, 1856, p. 463.*

• Joseph Henry

(1797–1878. Physicist)

COMMON school or elementary education is the basis on which the superstructure of the plan of true progress should be established; but it must be viewed in its connection with a general system, and not occupy exclusively the attention and patronage of governments, societies, and individuals; liberal

means must also be provided for imparting the most profound instruction in science, literature and art.

In organizing new states and territories, the amplest provision ought to be made for all grades of education; and, if possible, every individual should have the opportunity offered him of as much mental culture as he is capable of receiving or desirous of acquiring.—*Thoughts on Education, an address delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Education, Dec. 28, 1854, pp. 23-24.*

George Bancroft

(1800-1891. Historian and Statesman)

IN like manner the best government rests on the people and not on the few, on persons and not on property, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority. . . . Government of equal rights must, therefore, rest upon mind, not wealth, not brute force, the sum of the moral intelligence of the community should rule the State. . . . The world can advance only through the culture of the moral and intellectual powers of the people. To accomplish this end by means of the people themselves, is the highest purpose of government. *The office of the people in art, government, and religion. An oration delivered before the Adelphi-society of Williamstown College, August 1835. In Literary and Historical Miscellanies, by George Bancroft. New York, Harper & Bros., 1857, pp. 421, 422.*

Ralph Waldo Emerson

(1803-1882. Essayist and Poet)

FIRST, see that the expense be for teaching, or that school be kept the greatest number of days for the greatest number of scholars. Then that the best teachers and the best apparatus, namely, building, furniture, books, etc., be provided.—*Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1914. Vol. 10, pp. 12-13.*

Let us make our education brave and preventive. Politics is an after-work, a poor patching. We are always a little late. The evil is done, the law is passed, and we begin the uphill agitation for repeal of that which we ought to have prevented the enacting. We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education. What we call our root-and-branch reforms, of slavery, war, gambling, intemperance, is only medicating the symptoms. We must begin higher up, namely, in Education.

Our arts and tools give to him who can handle them, much the same advantage over the novice as if you extended his life, ten, fifty, or a hundred years. And I think it the part of good sense to provide every fine soul with such culture that it shall not, at thirty or forty years, have to say, "This which I might do is made hopeless through my want of weapons." —*Essay on Culture, in The Conduct of Life. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904, pp. 140-41.*



Robert Edward Lee

(1807-1870. General in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865; President of Washington College, Va., 1865-1870)

SO greatly have those interests [educational] been disturbed at the South, and so much does its future condition depend upon the rising generation, that I consider the proper education of its youth one of the most important objects now to be attained, and one from which the greatest benefits may be expected. Nothing will compensate us for the depression of the standard of our moral and intellectual culture, and each State should take the most energetic measures to revive the schools and colleges, and, if possible, to increase the facilities for instruction and to elevate the standard of learning.—*Letter to Rev. G. W. Eayburn, 1866. Recollections and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee. By his son, Capt. Robert E. Lee. New York, 1904, p. 210.*

The thorough education of all classes of the people is the most efficacious means, in my opinion, of promoting the prosperity of the South. The material interests of its citizens, as well as their moral and intellectual culture, depend upon its accomplishment. The textbooks of our schools, therefore, should not only be clear, systematic, and scientific, but they should be acceptable to parents and pupils in order to enlist the minds of all in the subjects.

Letters to Gen. John B. Gordon, December 1867. Recollections and Letters, etc., p. 211.

In its broad and comprehensive sense education embraces the physical, moral, and intellectual instruction of a child from infancy to manhood. Any system is imperfect which does not combine them all; and that is best which, while it thoroughly develops them, abases the coarse animal emotions of human nature and exalts the higher faculties and feelings. . . . An essential part of the education of youth is to teach them to serve themselves and to impress upon them the fact that nothing good can be acquired in this world without labor, and that the very necessities and comforts of life must be procured by earnest and regular exertions. *An unpublished letter to Prof. J. B. Minor. Lexington, Va., Jan. 17, 1867. Quoted in North Carolina Journal of Education, 1: 13, January 1898.*

James Russell Lowell

(1819-1891. Poet, Essayist, and Diplomat)

BUT it was in making education not only common to all, but in some sense compulsory on all, that the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled. Every man was to be trained, not only to the use of arms, but of his wits also; and it is these which alone make the others effective weapons for the maintenance of freedom. You may disarm the hands, but not the brains, of a people, and to know what should be defended is the first condition of successful defence. Simple as it seems, it

was a great discovery that the key of knowledge could turn both ways, that it could open, as well as lock, the door of power to the many.—*New England Two Centuries Ago, in Among My Books*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1898, pp. 239-40.

Andrew Carnegie

(1835-1919. Manufacturer and Publicist)

THE free common school system of the land is probably, after all, the greatest single power in the unifying process which is producing the new American race. Through the crucible of a good common English education, furnished free by the State, pass the various racial elements—children of Irishmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Swedes, side by side with the native American, all to be fused into one, in language, in thought, in feeling, and in patriotism.—*Triumphant Democracy*, Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1933, pp. 15-16.

The moral to be drawn from America by every nation is this: "Seek ye first the education of the people and all other political blessings will be added unto you." The quarrels of party, the game of politics, this or that measure of reform, are but surface affairs of little moment. The education of the people is the real underlying work for earnest men who would best serve their country. In this, the most creditable work of all, it cannot be denied that the Republic occupies the first place.—*Ibid.*, p. 119.

John Wanamaker

(1838-1922. Merchant)

THE making of America cannot be done alone with picks and shovels to build its forges and ships and railroads. The real American of the future is what its boys and girls shall become by academic and vocational training.—*Maxims of Life and Business*. New York and London, Harper & Bros., 1923, p. 110.

John Lancaster Spalding

(1840-1916. Educator and Prelate; Bishop of Peoria)

TO THINK of education as a means of preserving institutions, however excellent, is to form a wrong conception of its purpose, which is to mould and fashion men, who are more than institutions, who create, outgrow, and recreate institutions. Education concerns every one, not for the reason chiefly that it is a matter of vital general interest, having an immediate bearing on the welfare and progress of every people and of the whole race; but because each one, if he is to become a true man, must make his own education his life work, to which whatever he undertakes or does or suffers, must be auxiliary. It is, therefore, a subject not for philosophers and schoolmasters, for parents and citizens alone, but for whoever cherishes his human nature, or aspires to perfection, which is attainable only through the development of the faculties wherewith God has endowed him. Every man, therefore, should be an educator,—an educator of himself; and how shall he hope to perform this task wisely, if he remain ignorant of what education means and requires. The matter, indeed, seems to be simple,—but is deep as heaven, as wide as the world, and as complex as life. It is the art of right living, the science of whatever influences man. The knowledge which we acquire from a desire for knowledge, enters into our mental life and becomes an enduring part of ourselves; while what we learn from vanity or emulation, or as a means to a livelihood, does not form character or remain as a permanent gain. Education is a process of life-development. Life is developed by nutrition and exercise. The teacher's business, therefore, is to rouse in the pupil a desire for spiritual nourishment and to supply him with it in a way which will impel him to self-activity.—

Thoughts and Theories of Life and Education. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910, pp. 47-48.

Samuel Gompers

(1850-1924. Labor Leader)

EDUCATION that fails to fit men and women to play an intelligent, commanding part as sovereign citizens in a great industrial and political world fails of what must in this day be its prime purpose. It is not enough to have understanding and good education among a few; what we require is good understanding and good education en masse. We must in the mass understand the problems with which we must deal as a democratic people. We can advance and develop democracy but little faster than we can advance and develop the average level of intelligence and knowledge within the democracy. That is the problem that confronts modern educators. That is the problem that confronts democracy itself.—*Broadside issued by the U. S. Office of Education, for American Education Week, Dec. 3-9, 1922.*

Henry Van Dyke

(1852-1933. Poet, Preacher, and Author)

THE amount of money to be expended by a democracy in public education is to be measured by the standard of intelligent manhood which it sets for its citizens. The standard, I say, for, after all, in these matters it is the silent ideal in the hearts of the people which moulds character and guides action. What is your ideal of a right American? The answer to that question will determine whether you think we ought to do more or less for popular education.

For my part, I reckon that, as the enlightenment and discipline of manhood is the best safeguard of a democracy, so it ought to be the object of our chief care and our largest expenditure.

If our naval and military expenses ever surpass or even equal our educational expenses, we shall be on the wrong track. If we ever put the fortress and the fleet above, or even on a level with, the schoolhouse and the university, our sense of perspective will

be out of focus. If we ever spend more to inspire awe and fear in other peoples than to cultivate intelligence and character in our own, we shall be on the road to the worst kind of bankruptcy—a bankruptcy of men.

We want the common school more generously supported and more intelligently directed, so that the power to read and think shall become the property of all, and so that the principles of morality, which must be based on religion, shall be taught to every American child. We want the door between the common school and the university wide open, so that the path which leads upward from the little red schoolhouse to the highest temple of learning shall be free, and the path that leads downward from academic halls to the lowliest dwelling and workshop of instruction shall be honorable. We want a community of interest and a co-operation of forces between the public-school teacher and the college faculty. We want academic freedom, so that the institutions of learning may be free from all suspicion of secret control by the money-bag or the machine. We want democratic universities, where a man is honored only for what he is and what he knows. We want American education, so that every citizen shall not only believe in democracy, but know what it means, what it costs, and what it is worth.—*The Van Dyke Book*, ed. by Edward Mims. New York, C. Scribner's sons, 1921, pp. 167-68.

Famous educators plan new systems of pedagogy, but it is the Unknown Teacher who delivers and guides the young. He lives in obscurity and contends with hardship. For him no trumpets blare, no chariots wait, no golden decorations are decreed. He keeps the watch along the borders of darkness and makes the attack on the trenches of ignorance and folly. Patient in his daily duty, he strives to conquer the evil powers which are the enemies of youth. He awakens sleeping spirits. He quickens the indolent, encourages the eager, and steadies the unstable. He

communicates his own joy in learning and shares with boys and girls the best treasures of his mind. He lights many candles which in later years will shine back to cheer him. This is his reward.

Knowledge may be gained from books; but the love of knowledge is transmitted only by personal contact. No one has deserved better of the Republic than the Unknown Teacher. No one is more worthy to be enrolled in a democratic aristocracy,—“King of himself and servant of mankind.”—*At the 150th anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa at the College of William and Mary, Nov. 27, 1926. In Henry Van Dyke, a biography by his son, Tertius Van Dyke. New York, Harpers & Bros., 1935, pp. 380-81.*